101 Tamainde, then installed at Tres Buritis. This vocabulary certainly
114 comes from group b2 of our classification, who are distinguished by
197 the usage of a verbal suffix of the form -ʒore, and which we have also found in the region of Tres Buritis. However, in 1938, the users of this same dialect called themselves by the name Taiaté, and the name Tamainde was only used by a group speaking a different dialect (b1) to point out a third group (c of our classification), and one may doubt that its dialect even belongs to the Nambikwara linguistic family.

121 What conclusions may be drawn? Any attempt at classification based on the names of bands, whether they be chosen by the band or received from neighboring groups is condemned to failure in advance. The only sound basis for a classification of bands and groups can be linguistic. In any case, this method will be the only valid one as long as study carried on during the rainy season will not permit the establishment of larger and more stable units than the nomadic bands of the dry season. As it would be difficult and arbitrary to call each
[28] dialect by the temporary name of such and such a band who spoke it at the moment when the research was being carried on, and as a classification undertaken on the basis of present knowledge could only be provisional, we shall proceed with the aid of symbols, in preference to the names of groups which would give a false picture of reality.

197 This having been stated, it can be said that the Nambikwara linguistic family includes three principal groups of which two are subdivided into sub-groups. There are in all five distinct units. The two groups that we designate respectively by a and b are closely related from a semantic and morphological point of view, and they incontestably represent two modulations of the same language. In the two cases one observes the same usage of classifactory suffixes, with a verbal suffix whose meaning is "to be," "to become," "to do," to make." In the dialect of group a, this verbal suffix appears in the forms -kedjutu, -kedutsu -kititu. One should distinguish a type a1, predominant from the Papagaio to the Juina River, with an ending -u for nouns, and a type a2 which tends to substitute an ending -e for the preceding. As this last group is found to the west of the other, and it occupies approximately the region from the sources of the Doze de Outubro River and the Camararé River, it appears likely that the ending -e has appeared under the influence of dialect b. Apart from the ending and several variations in vocabulary, the dialects a1 and a2 are practically identical.

The vocabularies of groups a and b diverge more seriously. The latter also presents an ending -e for nouns, and some [9] new forms for the verbal suffix. On that latter basis, one should distinguish a

601 between systems a and c. It constitutes a sort of transition between
582 the simple, symmetrical and harmonious system of the eastern groups
184 and the more subtle and complex structure of the northern system. This role corresponds well to the respective geographic positions occupied by the different groups.

CONCRETE STUDY OF THE GROUPS

601 The concrete functioning of the kinship systems previously analyzed has been studied in the following groups:

I. Eastern group (dialects a).

621 (1) Dialect a 1. —A group of 23 individuals composed of six men, nine women, and eight children. This group was found to be temporarily enlarged by the meeting, and sometimes even the temporary combining of bands, whose members present among themselves, and as concerns the first group, analogous kinship relationships. Thus, group (1) was found to be temporarily increased to the point of including 75 individuals (20 men, 30 women, and 25 children).

(2) Dialect a2. —Several small units each including 6 to 12 individuals.

II. South-central group (dialect b1).

A stable group of 17 individuals composed of five men, six women and six children, temporarily increased, by the meeting with relatives, to 31 individuals (13 men, 10 women, and 8 children).

III. Western group (dialect b2).

A group of 12 individuals composed of four men, five women, and three children.

IV. Northern group (dialect c).

A stable group of 34 individuals composed of 9 men, 11 women and 14 children.

128 The concrete study of the groups will be based on the eastern
114 group a1 (restricted) and on the central group b1 (restricted), the only ones with whom we have lived long enough to set forth a psychosociological analysis.

551 scrapes it to eat it. Brother! Scrape!"

551 177 The Indians feel very strongly the inconvenience of the system, especially when they are in contact with the whites. Those among them who intermittently frequent the posts of the Rondon Line have very rapidly adopted the Brazilian names which they hear pronounced around them, and they are—or have been—baptized Juiio, Jose Maria, Luiza, Iracema, etc., giving these surnames some strange distortions. Sometimes too, there are nicknames like Lebre (lièvre = rabbit), Assucar (sucre = sugar) or Cavaignac (the shape of beard worn by the famous general). Several Indians have preserved this last name, thus perpetuating in the backwoods the memory of the time when Rondon lived and flourished.

We could use these names to designate them in the course of this study, or also their real names insofar as we have been able, in certain cases, to restore them. But these Brazilian names are only carried by the small minority of Indians who are in contact with the posts of the Rondon Line; [38] and the authentic names are lacking to us in a great number of cases. At any rate, the process would not be true to reality. For the remarkable point is that, in daily life, one does not hear a single name pronounced. It thus seems to us more in ● 128 conformance with the indigenous atmosphere to refrain, in the course 551 of this work, from using names to designate individuals, and we shall content ourselves with symbols indicating the sex, the group, and the place in the group of the individual considered (for each group, respectively A, B, C; capital letter for a man, small letter for a woman, followed by a figure identifying the subject.)

551 124 Nevertheless, as has just been indicated, it has been possible for us, for group a1, to collect a complete list of names. This is how: one day when we were playing with a group of children, one of the little girls was struck by a playmate. She came immediately to take refuge near us, and began, in a very mysterious manner, to murmur something in our ears which we did not understand, and which we were obliged to have repeated for us several times, so that the adversary realized the trick, and, apparently furious, came in turn to reveal what appeared to be a solemn secret. After several hesitations and questions, the interpretation of the incident left no doubt. The first little girl had come, out of revenge, to give us the name of her enemy, and when the latter saw this, she told us the name of the other one, as a means of reprisal. From this moment on, it was very easy, if not very scrupulous, to arouse the children against one another, and to obtain from each of them the name of all the others. After this, a little complicity thus having been created, they gave us the

607 terms among brazilian indians," American Anthropologist Vol. 45, No. 3, 1943. In an interesting article dedicated to the Tupi system ("Notas sobre a interpretacão sociologica de alguns designativos de parentesco do Tupi-Guarani," Etnografia e lingua Tupi-Guarani, No. 9, São Paulo, 1946), J. Philipson reproaches me for having limited the relationship of compaternity to South America, and he invokes the example of numerous tribes of North America. That is to attribute too much ignorance to me: it is indeed certain that there exist, in the entire world, innumerable cases of special relationships between brothers-in-law, both cordial and hostile. But by including pell-mell all of these examples, one would fall back into errors of the old comparative sociology. By the term "compaternity" I have wished to identify a precise complex institution, where there come together in correlation a particular kinship system, well defined rules of marriage, and certain traditional psychological attitudes. It is possible, and even reasonable, that one could find this uniformity in other regions of the world. But none of the examples mentioned by Philipson reveal this clearly.

its vast distribution in indigenous America of former times.

Part II

SOCIAL LIFE

128 It is obviously impossible, when one studies the existence of small nomadic bands all of whose members are related among themselves or from one band to the other, by a kinship relationship, to trace a clear line of separation between family life and social life. Many traits which come from the latter have been pointed out in the preceding pages. We shall not examine then in this chapter, more than certain aspects of the social life which concern the collective whole, either in its own existence or in its relations with neighboring groups.

423 garden, with the stipulation, of [113] a psychological and moral order, that one wait to take possession until "the memory of the dead [128 has been lost." However, this semijudicial means of acquiring 425] land does not imply the existence of an inheritance right. The relatives are not favored, and anybody can avail oneself of the same title.

GENERAL PSYCHOLOGY AND DAILY LIFE

The Categories

●128 The linguistic study of the Nambikwara should be the object of special publications, (1) and we shall thus content ourselves

> 1. C. Lévi-Strauss, Sur certaines similarités, etc., loc. cit.; Paul L. Garvin, Esquisse du Système, etc., loc. cit.

here with several summary pieces of information destined to bring into sharper focus what can be inferred concerning the broad logical categories of thought, and to assign a place to the Nambikwara group within the orbit of other American cultures.

193 The most remarkable trait of the Nambikwara language,
197 made particularly evident by the central and southern dialect (b1),
811 is an extended use of the classificatory suffixes. The systematic character of the classification of things and beings is comparable only to that found in the Ŝibŝa linguistic family. Furthermore, if one ignores several secondary differences, the division of the world into categories in Nambikwara presents a remarkable similarity with that found in the Ŝibŝa dialects. (2)

> 2. The following examples are borrowed from Walter Lehmann, Zentral-Amerika, 2 vols., Berlin, 1920, I, pp. 277-279, 404, 440, 454, 571.

In the division of things and beings into eleven principal logical categories, ten are found to be common to the Nambikwara and to the Ŝibŝa. The category "season, weather, sky" seems to be broken up, in Nambikwara, into several suffixes. Inversely, the same suffix-are classes two categories logically related but distinguished by

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

128 Charts 1 to 14 give kinship terms of the Camayurá, Bacairí, Nambicuara, and Umotina, and other northern Mato Grosso tribes. (See pp. 112–123.)

[p. 111 (D)]